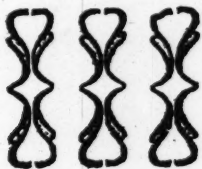


CERTAIN  
LETTERS

*Written to severall*  
PERSONS.

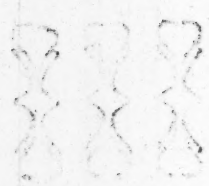
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Anno Dom. 1655.

OFFICE  
OF THE  
TREASURER  
OF THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA  
WASHINGTON



THE  
UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

S I R,

THE sad and desperate condition His *Majesties* Sacred person is in, hath filled me with much greater *anxiety* and *disquietnesse*, than hath been usuall to me since these *unhappy times* : And it is not often that I think of any thing else, but what *may*, or *ought* to be done in order to the *preservation* of it, as a *Christian*, as a *Subject* : For I believe *both* duties are inseparably *conjoyned* in this occasion. The *inquisition* after this led me into the consideration of *Gods dispensation* of *times* and *seasons* : and that as *those* are not to be neglected, wherein there is *freedom* for our *active duty* ; so neither *these*, wherein there is appearance of little else remaining, save only for others to be encouraged

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raged and revived by the *passive*. (And truly I doubt not but the *divine goodnesse* will act for our good ends, by our Christian readinesse for *sufferings*.) And as it is thus with *times*, so also it is with *persons*: some are rather, or more decently *qualified* for this than that, at least to give *example* and *authority* to it.

These cogitations drew from me the *considerations* herein inclosed; which I have addressed to—— because I assure my selfe much of your *gentlenesse*. I have already communicated them to a very *learned*, *reverend* and *pious*——but I will not adventure much further in it, untill I have also your sense of the *expediency* of the thing. For neither to the *reputation* of the *matter*, untill it be *maturely considered* of, nor to any *person*, would I because of *inconvenience*. And indeed, if it be



be so well *encouraged* by your  
*self*, and such others of like repu-  
*tation*, as it is by *Him*, it will be-  
 come me afterward to be *silent*  
 (as I conceive,) for I have a  
 better *Heart* than a *Head* for  
 this business. I professe I have a  
*jealous eye* upon the *Scots* and  
*Presbyterians*; who, I doubt not,  
 would make *malicious advanta-*  
*ges* upon any colourable *defect*  
 of our *Clergy*. I shall adde this,  
 that those of my profession are  
 not *idle*, but are *confident* and  
*vigilant*. And truly it were a  
 vile *shame* for us of all qualifica-  
 tions, if this *excellent Prince*  
 should be *lost*, and we not able  
 to *excuse* our selves, that no  
 meanes was left unattempted for  
 his *preservation*; Whom I be-  
 seech God to *comfort* and *defend*.  
 To whose protection I also leave  
 you, &c.

Feb. 11. 1647.

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## P O S T - S C R I P T .

**I** Think it gives weight and encouragement to this proceeding, both his *Majesties* late excellent *Declaration* to his Subjects; as also the *Resolution* of the *Houses* to exhibit theirs to the people. I heartily wish this were timely fitted for this *conjunction*.

*The Considerations inclosed.*

**T**He streight *durance* his *Majesties* sacred person is held under, the late *Declaration* of the Army, (with which the Commons have concurred) to act without and against the *King*, puts it past all scruple, that the *flagitious* and *execrable* resolution of these men hath engaged them past retiring; and (which

is yet worse) that they cannot but proceed to the *deepest* and *utmost villanies* and *impieties*.

There is not less question of this, than of what ought to *succeed* it; which is, that their *impudence* must be encountred with a *Christian courage*, *zeal*, and *resolution* superiour to it: otherwise 'tis a doubt not to be flighted, that *these* men, and too many *others seduced* by them, will have a seeming cause to believe themselves, that *Theologicall truths* are more controversall, than those *Astronomicall* or *Astrologicall*, wherein *lines* and *Images* are only fictioned, to make *Schemes* for *Sciences* and *Discourse*. I am not altogether free of this scruple, though it looks so *stupidiously irreligious*.

Will not the whole frame of *Christian verity* be *shaken* (if not *subverted*,) in this *Nation*, when

this so great a truth in it shall not be vigorously averred; That an established Magistracy is Gods immediate Minister; and ought not, cannot, with Christian profession, be deposed by those that owe obedience and allegiance to it? I am fully perswaded that it is so necessary a truth, that were it tyed to the stake, and the flames about it, even there ought we to offer our selves to vindicate it, and contend for it; or else adieu Christian-Protestant profession.

The seed of the Church was Suffering: And shall it be lost for want of suffering, after it is grown to such a perfection; The ancient Patterns must be imitated, if we expect the same benediction should preserve to us, what was so piously and gloriously planted by them. I think I mistake not my measure, this error amongst men lyeth not in the  
the

the *brain*, but in the *heart*: therefore *Instructions* want not, but strenuous *Examples* of Christian *zeale*; which (I perswade my selfe) will most daunt *them*. For those believe, what they want of us in *truth*, they supply in *per-tinacity*.

All this considered, it is not now *seasonable* (I believe it was not so till now; but because the reasons are so obvious, I will not trouble you with them) for a considerable number of our *learnedst*, *gravest*, and most *pious Divines* (though they exceed not the number of twenty, they will be enough) in a *grave* and *sober* manner (for those *tart reprehensions*, of which every day there wants not store, suit not the weight of this businesse, being rather movings of *spleen* than *sanctity*) to present unto the *Houses*, That a *Government*

*established* is Gods immediate *Minister*, and That an attempt to *depose* it, as an high *impiety* against God, and his knowne *truth* plainly and expressly taught us in the holy Scriptures; That his *Majesty* is indubitably Gods *Vice-gerent* over us, and that this *Allegiance* we owe unto Him, we have attested by the oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*; That not any of his *Subjects* can stretch forth their hands against Him and be *guiltlesse*; That they demand (according to the practice of the *holiest Christians* in all ages) a time & place to prove this great *truth* they now assert, by evidence out of the *Scripture*; and if this be *not allowed* them, than to declare, they refuse not to seal it by *Martyrdome*?

I do very readly acknowldge that the qualifications for so great an *ingagement* ought to be  
*weighy*

weighty and serious ; and that to  
rush into *Martyrdom*, (as long as  
God hath left us any *justifiable*  
*human means*) may want as much  
of true *Christian piety*, as it may  
seem of *prudence*. God hath en-  
gaged our nature to *many* and *se-*  
*veral duties & function*; and each  
hath its *several laws and rules*  
*proper*, whereby they are so set  
on work, that each may attain  
their due and *proper ends* : nor is  
the *greatest* means alwaies *best*,  
when there are others, though  
*less*, yet *fitter*. But if I mistake not,  
*ventum est usque ad Triarios*: we  
must bring up the *Reserve*. God  
hath in his just judgments (upon  
our *Estates and Persons*) permit-  
ted all our *temporal* endeavours  
to be dissipated and frustrated ;  
we may say, our *Van* and our  
*Battel* are routed, but if the cou-  
rage of this our *reserve* fails us  
not, I hope we shal rally our selvs

againe about it, and by the di-  
 vine goodnesse have a *faire day*  
 of it. This will *awaken all*, en-  
 courage the *half-spirited*, corro-  
 borate all *honest and sincere*  
 mindes. Me thinkes I have rea-  
 son too on my side, when I be-  
 lieve it will easily fall into this  
 sequence. All the *Clergy of*  
*England* (with very little excep-  
 tion) will second so Christian an  
 example. Besides, most *entire*  
*families* will be engaged, and  
 scarce will there be *one* but will  
 have a share in it. For to this  
 point the *Presbyterians* will  
 frankly concur; divers repu-  
 ted *Independents* (of whom I  
 know some much valued by  
*themselves*) will be joyned unto  
 you: and even in the *Army* the  
 Impression of it will be notable.  
 Nor can their present power pre-  
 vent the expression of so *univer-*  
*sall* a sense, so *piously incited*, and  
*so well warranted*. Where-



Whereby will appear *their* paucity. Upon good advertisement I am assured, that they believe they have the *Hearts* of the greater number of the people, so much hath their prosperity dazzled them: But of nothing am I more certaine, than that they have not the *fourtieth* man. And an expedient like this, to let both the people and ~~them~~ into a view one of another, I know not. And yet also would this be further prosecuted: This attestation would be sent into *Scotland*, and all the *Protestant Churches* and *States of Europe* (for with the others we communicate not.) And for it I know an expedient proper and of reparation.

If this progresse of it should faile, though improbably, which hath such a politick seemingness in it; yet in my opinion, it doth not at all vitiate the pious part of  
it :

it : the *meanes* and *end* being throughout truly *Christian*. I say, if it should faile, yet I see not that any thing we can *doe* or *suffer*, can more than answer the *importunity* of the *occasion*, and the *necessity* that lyeth upon us as *Christians* to doe the utmost of our *duty*. How long, and with how many arts and subtleties have *these men abused & deluded* the people with the pretensions of their *candid intentions*, onely to preserue the *Laws* of the Nation and the *Protestant Profession*? But now that they are possessed of so great *power*, with what *impudence* do they *confound those*, and with what *impiety* doe they *subvert this*? But since in this case both *those* do so well accord, were it not best to set this *last named* in the front, & to draw up the *Civil affair* to it; & though we contend for *both*, yet  
to

to fight under the banner of *this*, in some such manner, as I have stated it, & by your wisdom will be disposed into the best Order.

I shall adde such a *consideration* more, that if it stood *singly*, yet in my opinion would justify and quit the cost of any *endeavour*, or *indurance*. That is, the unparalell'd *sufferings* of this great Prince; to which I know nothing *superiour*, but his *incomparable vertues*. Believe me, multitudes of men are mistaken, if in the point of his *temporall affairs*, he had not been in a much *better condition*, (though I professe not in a *good one*,) had he timely *relaxed* much of his *constancy* and *sincerity* towards the Rights, preeminencies and patrimony of the *Church*. Neither is *our* obligation but very great to him; his sufferings being for *our Laws*, sounquestionably is *our prosperity* mixed with

with *his dignity*. Now shall this great Personage suffer imprisonment, deprivation of Majesty, absence of all worldly comforts, and minutely hazards of life, for his magnanimous stedfastnesse to your and our advantages; and we not struggle for Him with our utmost endeavours? Life were inseparable from much infamy with such ingratitude. And truly in humane reason (the utmost imployment whereof, God (I doubt not) expects at our hands) I know no guard for his life, but by some means or other to make it manifest how dear he is to his people, and their readinesse to testifie how inseparably united Gods truth is with the cause of his Majesty. This onely next under God, must awe Them, preserve Him.

I cannot refuse to believe that this cause, as to the Crown, will  
rise

rise againe : because I see not a  
 bottome or foundation in hu-  
 mane reason for this surreptiti-  
 ous power to establish it self in the  
 order it seems now to point at.  
 Though I doe also very ful-  
 ly confesse, that great mis-  
 chiefs are easily under their  
 power. But if these only were  
 prevented, amongst which the  
 safety of this sacred Person is of  
 highest importance, we had no  
 cause to repent of such pious en-  
 deavours. And should the cause  
 of the Crown (with which Gods  
 truth is so firmly combin'd) re-  
 fusciate without such Christian  
 aides, little were it to the  
 honour of the present Clergy,  
 and those that now serve at  
 the Altar : and if redemption  
 come singly some other way,  
 their share could be little look-  
 ed after (of which truly none  
 is more passionately tender than

*myself*) nor were the *Protestant Profession* well vindicated: which (I doubt not to say) hath received a *deep wound* (but I hope not *mortall*) by the *unchristian* proceedings of these *vile* and *detestable men* amongst us.

This I have offered to your *candour*, *prudence* and *piety*, which truly I hold in great *reverence*; otherwise I would not thus have *exposed* my selfe to the *censure* of it. The *weaknesse* of the *advice*, at least the *unskilfull* digest of it, I shall readily *acknowledge*; but the *sincerity* and *zeal* of my *heart* for the cause to which it is directed, I shall never be *ashamed* of.

But after all this I shall make this conclusion, and I pray believe I am *serious* & *sincere* in it. Let me not be mistaken, that I should seem to *reprove* a *slacknesse*

*slacknesse* in *those*, whom I think  
 proper to take up this matter of  
*themselves*. Indeed I am not at  
 all guilty of it. I doubt not but  
 great numbers have been *long*  
*since ready* for this encounter;  
 and perhaps disposing them-  
 selves to it, in a much *better*  
*manner*, than I have proposed.  
 I have onely offered my *opinion*.  
 Receive it, I pray, *as it is*, I may  
 affirme, in the *weakest* part of it,  
 not wanting some measure of a  
*pious jealousie* (as a *Son* of this  
*Church*) for this great *verity*  
 taught and professed in it, and  
 as a transport of that *duty* and  
*care* I have for the *safety* of this  
*Gracious Prince*, my *Master*. To  
 which I shall add, that I have had  
 too much *experience* in this world  
 to be ignorant of this frequent  
*truth* in affairs; That in *good men*  
 there is alwaies a *modesty* accom-  
 panying them, that oftentimes  
 they

they *begin over-late*; And it is almost proper to them- neither to *machinate*, nor to be over-hasty to *encounter wicked designs*. But, if I erred not, this is that point and article of *time*, wherein *your Order* are to manifest their full *perswasion* of this *verity* in *Christian Religion*; *vindicate* it as it is profest by the *Church of England*; answer the *kindnesse* and *stedfastnesse* of the *King* to the *Clergy*; *protect* that *Life*, which was *our Protection*, and is in such *imminent hazard* for it; By all which (through Gods blessing) you may lay a foundation of *reviving* both in *Church* and *State*, that which now looks so *cadaverously*.



MY LORD,

**I**T joyes me not a little, that in the late refusall of the *Lords* concurrence with the *Commons* House concerning the triall of *his Majesty*, you were there, and had an eminent share in it. The *blood* of *our Families* being *mixed*, it is a grieffe to me, I could not beare a part with you in so *vertuous* and *commendable* an action; yet a large part of *contentment* in it cannot be denied me.

You are (unquestionably) on *firm ground*. If you stir an inch from it, you fall. If you keep your *station* confidently, *magnanimously*, you are *safe*, undoubtedly *safest*; if *coldly* and with *trepidation*, you are *ruin'd, lost*. Are the *dangers* great? the *occasion*

*casion* is much greater: and the whole affair is therefore great, because greatned by *hazards* of the *highest nature* to the *publick*, to your *particular*. I have *bought experience* at a *dear rate*: but into the *bargain* I have no very imperfect *knowledge* of *these men*. Let them but meet a well-grounded and justifiable *zeal*; greater than their *misguided fury*, you shall render them *recollected*: and you have begun a *conquest* upon them, when they perceive an engaged *resolution*. Let them but see there is a *generosity* and incredible *courage* prepared to stemme the *torrent* of their *fury*, they *must*, they *wil yeild way* to it.

The case of the whole Kingdome hath long been a *sad* and a *heavy* one; but now at length it is a *plain* one too. Though your *Lordships* seem at present to appear most upon the stage; the *Eclipse*

*eclipse* of the *King* hath very sensibly obscured the *lustre* and brightness of the *Gentry* also : And therefore it may be the easier believed , that, although the *King* at present hath very little *attendance* , and *solemnity* about his *Person*, his *Interment* must be accompanied with the considerablest part of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and with the demolition of *Kingship* ; and the mutation of *Monarchy* in this Common-weale , together with that of *Nobility* & *Gentility*, will be attended with that of the civil & sober *distinction* of all *degrees*.

It is not uneasy to be discerned (as elated as these men are with their *Victories*) that yet there is a kind of *hesitation*, and stop in their *carriere*. For now the time being come, that they are to consider how they shall *retaine* and *rule* what they seem

*Teem* to have gained, they begin to perceive that there is a wide difference between *making a conquest over their fellow-citizens* (of which their own unhappy differences will lay claime to the greatest share) and *governing them contrary to their owne appetites by so small a part of themselves*: And that meanes are easilier found & readier at hand to *discompose and disorder a State*, than such as shall *compose and rule it*, especially when so *differing to long-ingrassed customes and the inclinations of the people*. Attack them in this *musling mood*, though they doe use an *artificiall confidence* that they act the sence of the people. 'Tis true, they are in some *present awe of their power*, or rather in a kinde of present *amazement at their boldnesse*: An expedient must be used for the people  
to

to resume *courage*, and to declare their *inclinations*. I need scarce name who are the fittest to contrive the *way*, and give the *onset*. It can be none but your *Lordships*, none will begin before you, and there is none but will follow you. Make then a *Declaration* (by a competent number of you that are readiest at hand (for some *hast* must be used considering the *Kings danger*) the rest will speedily follow you) of your *horror* and *detestation* to such a proceeding against your *annointed King*, and *lawfull Sovereigne*, (your *Lordships* will best order it:) Invite all the *Clergy*, all the *Professours* of the *Law* to make their severall *subscriptions* under their severall qualifications. Those in *London* are ready at hand, & will speedily follow you. Then the *Countrys* and *Cities* will undoubtedly hasten

hasten *their* testimonies. This occasion is so large, it incloses, comprehends all *opinions*, whatsoever ownes *humanity*, will be joyned to you. The paucity of these prodigious Regicides, Parricides will quickly appear as *Monsters*, not contained within the terms and limits of *humane nature*. Nor can the power and vigilancy of the *Army* hinder the progresse of this: Or if they attempt it, they doe half-work, it destroyes their *pretensions*, and will irritate the people to a *revenge*. Send such a *Declaration* to the *Generall* and the *Councell of Warre*. Let them see there is a noble *Confidence* and *resolution* that will back it, and not be refused. Demand a stop of the *proceedings*, untill the people have delivered their *suffrages* by their subscriptions. They will own you as regardfull of them for preserving

ving them from the imputation of so *high* a *guilt* of so *unspeakable* a *crime*, as these would impose upon them.

10 This proceeding (I acknowledge) is not ordinary, not exempl'd: but the occasion is altogether *new*, and so *unimaginable*, That (all the circumstances weigh'd) all histories are silent, that the like thing ever entered into the heart of man, as this intended enterprise of *these men* of the *Army*: That a *King* and a *free Monarch*, the *Protectour* of our *municipall Lawes*, should, contrary to all Lawes, to our own Lawes, but yet with the *impudent semblance* of a *packed Jury* be submitted unto *triall* for his *Life*. To encounter this *horrid novelty* a way altogether *new* must be excogitated, & seconded with a *courage* and *confidence* above ordinary. Why may not

H

your

your *Lordships* find it convenient to remonstrate to all *Kings, Princes, States, Potentates* and *Nobility* your disclaimure of so foul a matter; and desire their assistance, if it may be timely had, for the preservation of his sacred *Majesties Life*? For if that were but in a reasonable security, you need not doubt, but that the Kingdom hath more than means enough to struggle for it self, and recover its ancient *Laws* and Government from such a *vertiginous* and *giddy generation*; who have the *impudence* to derive a title and authority for their proceedings from *visions* and *revelations*. Give but the people an honourable *example*, they will follow you, and vindicate both you and themselves from being considered as such a *silly generation*, that they should suffer themselves, to be conzend out of their



their good, known, and establisht  
ed *Laws* ; and in the place of  
them , to be imposed upon  
by *imaginations* and *Dreams*.

I despair not of Gods wonder-  
full providence over his sacred  
*Majesties Person* and *Life* : but  
that suspends not our *endeavours*,  
He expects we should work with  
Him by those humane means he  
hath left us. It grieves me, I can  
doe nothing else but *rub my fin-*  
*gers upon paper* : an imployment  
that fits not my *Genius*. Perforce  
I must doe it, or *nothing*. And be-  
cause I would not be guilty of  
leaving any thing undone that I  
can doe, I have applyed my self  
to it, and directed it to your  
*Lordship*. To whom I wish that  
all the advantages, that ever hap-  
ned to any *noble endeavour*, may  
succeed, and rest.

Tower, Jan. 9. 1648.

*Yours, &c.*

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S I R,

S I R,

**T**He conjectures of men are  
 strangely *various* (yea, of  
 the same persons) concerning  
 the *safety* or *danger* of the King,  
 my *Master* : Sometimes their  
*hopes*, other times their *fears* pre-  
 vail most. I should be much a-  
 shamed if I were the least guilty  
 of so universall an *inquietude*, in  
 so justifiable an occasion, and  
 arising from so good a ground,  
 as a *kindnesse* and *reverence* they  
 owe to their *lawfull Prince*. I  
 frankly give you leave to think  
 (nor doe I value the inconveni-  
 ence it could draw along with it)  
 that there is not that *honest ex-*  
*pedient* in the world to *serve*  
*Him* by, that I would not ha-  
 zard my self in, to imploy for  
*Him* : nor doe I know what  
*earthly*

earthly felicity it is, could be so welcome to me, as to advance a step, beyond any other, in my duty toward Him. But my present condition refuseth me the ability of any thing else, but that of *invoking the favour of God* for Him; and making my addresses to you, whom I take to be the figure that gives the denomination to the sequence of a great many cyphers that follow you: And therefore I doe the rather believe that a person, that signifies so much, will the better apprehend what weight and signification Reason and Religion have in all humane and Christian actions; and that these at last will make a Conquest upon all those, that act without their Commission.

I can hardly perswade my self into (I thinke) the too common opinion, that the extraordinary

dinary *successes* and *felicity* that hath constantly followed your *attempts*. ( who as the saying is, seem to have *hired fortune* to serve you at day-wages ) hath *dazled* that light of *understanding* that formerly was usual to you. You cannot forget the *advantages* on the *House's* part, and the *Infirmities* and *wants* on the *Kings* part, at the beginning of the *warre*; and that the complication of *many favourable accidents* on the part of your affaires, will challenge a share in the *successes*, yet is there a large room too left for your *merit* in *Martiall conduct*; and you have cause enough to value your self upon a *better foundation*, than the *event* of *Battells*, and *successes* in *Warre*. *Proverbiall wisdom* is not the *worse*, because *easiliest learnt*; It seldome happens that  
the

the same man is *Hapty* and *wise* together. And if that lesson also be good, That *Affliction* makes men understand; it is the *Academy* in which I have been strictly disciplin'd for *seven* years; so that I must either be an egregious *Dunce*, or no ill *Connseller* for you; there being a Person scarce to be found, that lyeth under so dangerous a temptation of *seeming* prosperity, and therefore fittest to be advised and *connselled* to *sobriety* and *wisdome*. Of this I doe assure you I doe so little repine at your *prosperity*, and easie opportunities of *fixing* your selfe *securely* in it, that if you doe as much justifye your love to the tranquility of the Nation by a discreet *uniting* the King and his people, as you have been instrumentall in their long *separation*. I shall prize your *prudence*,

dence, courage, industry, and sobriety, at as high an estimate, as the sufficientest wit can deliver it in language.

I doubt not, but both of us are easily agreed in this point, That *successes legitimates not a quarrell, nor the power which supports it*; Neither are the Instruments of the calamity of a Nation thereby justified. We cannot but remember and observe, that it is no more than the *filthiest and imperfectest creatures* have heretofore effected, which have driven people out of their countreyes, made desert Islands extreemely fertile. Have not *Frogs and Locusts* desolated *Empires*? and other *vermine* ruined great *Cities*, and large *Territories*? By these meanes God magnifies his owne Power and Justice: the *Instruments* remaine but what they were,  
their

their nature and quality not changed. But in the acts of Gods Grace and favour to those; who have been instrumental in *destructive practices*, there is a mutation of *qualities*; an ejection of those *vicious*, and an infusion of contrary *graces*, and those affects and appetites, which are *necessary* and *connaturall*, but *misguided*, are by his goodnesse guided to good ends. And thus was *Saul* from a furious persecutor transformed to a zealous *Professour*; from a destroyer of the *Church*, to a *Master-builder up* of it. No doubt but God in both had his ends, by and upon *Saint Paul*: and from my soul I wish it, that *your* case may have a similitude with *his*; that of *him* in the *Spirituell* affaire, (which was the function to which he was separated) you may be a

resemblance in the *temporall*;  
and from a *destroyer* (by Gods  
goodnesse) rendered a *restorer*.  
This in passage to those other  
considerations I intended to  
you.

That which weighs most, and  
lyeth heaviest upon mens hearts  
is, the *fear* of the *Kings Person*;  
that the whole Kingdome may  
lye under the imputation of the  
guilt of *violence* offered to it;  
and that a *mutation* of the *forme*  
of *Government* shall succeed it.  
If this be the *end*-aimed at, then  
my present endeavour is to  
demonstrate to you, how hu-  
manely *impossible* it is to attain  
unto it. First there is no *exam-  
ple* (the necessary circumstances  
observed) that encourageth  
such an endeavour. For exa-  
mine *all* the *Stories* of all *States*,  
and you will not finde so much  
as *one instance* (I pray observe  
how



how I propose it) that ever any people within the fifth degree (I might double the proportion) as we of *England* are, or in the same degree so spacious a territory, were ever transformed from a *Monarchy*, to an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*. Some *Cities* and petty *Principalities* have sometimes suffered a change to those *Formes*; and from thence have arrived (yet not without desperate, intestine seditions' and vexations) to a great *Puissance*: The people growing up and increasing with the widening of the *State*, the Governing by multitudinous *Councils*, through constant habit and practice, hath not alwaies ill succeeded. But to attempt to introduce such a forme (which is so vitrious and brittle, and so easily carryed into distemper, tumult and multitude, being scarce

scarce separable) upon such a huge masse of people as we of this Nation are, and altogether unexpected and undesirous of it, the matter it self in reason will be found manifestly repugnant to, and not susceptible of such forms; nor is there a pattern to be found, to give any light of direction for the managing of such a designe. Reasons may be seduced from the accidents happening *this Parliament*, which well weighed and pondered, will afford matter more than enough to clear this question. Something like an example may be produced (though rarely too) that large Monarchies have been cantonized. But that (I thinke) few have any *sealousy* is intended.

The next considerable is, That the *change* from the ancient and long-established rule of Gover-

ing will demolish all the received *rules of property*. And if that inconvenience be with difficulty provided for ; yet the people will not expect other , but that with *new Lords* they must have *new Lawes* : And more than probable it is that the people will be shaken into such an apprehension of it , that they may fall upon the Heads of the enterprisers. We frequently see that people are hardly reclaimed from *customs barbarous and unreasonable* ; how much lesse can our Nation (the best civilized the world hath known) be withdrawn from the love of *Laws*, so prudently constituted, and under which they have so long continued, that the very desires of the people are assimilated into the nature of their *Laws*. The people and the *Laws* will alwayes be alike. Are theit *Laws Monarchicall*

narchicall, so will be the *affections* of the people? *Custom* is a *second nature*, and in many things goes beyond it.

Upon what *principle*, upon what *authority* must such a proceeding be founded? It can be no other, but that the people have the right and power to depose an established Government, erect a new form, arraign the supreme Magistrate, and execute Him. Herein is all *History* silent; and it will not only be disclaimed by all those you call *Cavaliers* and *Presbyterians*, but also by a considerable number of *Independents*: The remainder then will amount to a slender body of people. So that whereas the pretence is, that the *sense of the people* is acted, nothing will prove to be a grosser *mistake*. But this embroilment in the State, especially upon this principle, will make all  
Kings

*Kings* parties to the quarrell :  
 Yea, all *States* that administer  
*Aristocratically*, will be thoroughly  
 engaged to defend their *right*  
*of ruling*. So that there is little  
 question but that the greatest *ca-*  
*lamity* that can befall a Nation,  
 will inevitably be drawn upon  
 us, that is, a *forrain invasion*.  
 And *Trade* (which nature seems  
 to have designed our Nation  
 most properly for) will be *em-*  
*barred* by all *Kings* and those  
*States*. Nor can it be expected  
 that permission will be given to  
 those of our Nation to *Trafick*,  
 who derive themselves from a  
*State*, from whence they shall  
 bring the *contagion* of so destru-  
*ctive a maxime* to those *rules* of  
*governing*, where they expect  
*commerce*. Yea, even *popular*  
*States* will abhorre so *prodigious*  
*a principle* and *proceeding*; they  
 having been urged by necessity  
 to

to use a *supreme Magistrate*, though for *time limited*, yet exempt from *question and triall*: whereof the ancient State of *Rome* gives us frequent Examples. No man sure is so mad as to search our *Chronicles* for a *president* of this nature.

The consideration of *Scotland* will have a large share in this affair: for the *Regall Rule* can receive no *diminution*, much lesse *alteration here*, but that it must make a notable impression on that *State*; and can have no other event but a *disunion* of the *Nations*; the *union* of which hath ever been so much *considered* and vehement'y *desired* by all our *prudentest Princes*, and by the most *fortunate Martia-lists* of them, (with so much fruitlesse losse of blood) often *attempted*, yet afterward by Gods providence so *happily effected*,

*affected*, and in a most peaceable manner, to the universall contentment of all sorts in both Nations. 'Tis not possible there can be an *union* of Nations, where there is a *dissimilitude* in the nature and form of *Government*; for they will perpetually *strive one with another*. Nor can a *violence* upon the *person* of the King but prepare a way to let *Scotland* into a *quarrell* undeniably *just*, and unavoidably *necessary*, for the *losse* of their *Liege Lord* and *lawfull Sovereign*, and *unconsulted* with. To this consideration of *Scotland* I'll joyn that of *Ireland*. 'Tis apparent that the *Army* will have more than their hands full (if *Scotland* slept) with the *vexations* and *difficulties* that will arise here at *home*. For of the *Common house* (which you call) the representative of the people,

an.

an *eighth part* remains not, with any countenance for the *Army*; nor *those* neither doth the *awe* of the *Army* retain *united* to one sense: Take also into the reckoning those, who have been *expelled* the House for adhering to the *King* in this warre, which at least will be *four* or *five parts* more: the remaining part of the *Lords* have *disclaimed* to have any share in such proceeding. So that by this *Index* of this Nation you may see the Spirit of the *whole body* of it, the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, all persons of *distinction*, and all of any *competent substance*: and I am perswaded, (besides the unsuccessfull triall that hath been made of some persons practised and learned in the *Laws*,) even those of your late selected *Jury* or *Judges* for the *Kings triall*, will fail the *promoters* of it. Indeed all things refuse them;



them; and doubtlesse so will you too, when *calmly* and *recollectedly* you shall cast your eye upon so *horrible* a *spectacle*, you cannot let it long rest there. We then thus *turmoil'd* and *disquieted*, *Ireland* will be left to *itself*; or rather worse, a prey to a *forraign Nation*: a *large* Kingdome, the *fertilest* soile of the *Northern* parts of *Europe*, happy beyond *England* for *number* and *conveniency* of *Ports* and *Havens*: so that inevitably with it the *destruction* of the *Empire* of *this Nation* over the *Seas*, and the *cessation* of *trade* must ensue; and after it, *unspeakable misery* and *poverty* to our Nation, and *eternall infamy* to the *causers* of it.

Very considerable also is the *fashion* and *shape* of the *proceeding*, which (they say) is intended against his *Majesty*; so *ugly*,  
*monstrous,*

*monstrous*, and *deformed*, that when it appears upon the *stage* to act, the *horror* of it will *irritate* the whole *Nation* to *revenge*. What? (for it is not otherwise apprehended) that a *Councill* of *Warre* of that *Army*, that professe to act under and by the authority of the two Houses, should impose *Rules* to judge by, and *Judges* for those rules too upon *those* whom they have professed to be their *Legislators*; and that for the *triall* (by their own acknowledgement) of the *dignifiedst* *Person* of the *Kingdome*; therefore not more than any other *submittable* to an *arbitrary power* and *extrajudiciall proceeding*. Who is it that after this can expect *security* of *lie*, or quiet possession of any thing he hath? It is said (but who almost can believe it?) that a title is derived from *Revelation* and

and *inspiration* : If it were but *talk*, it were but *ridiculous*, and would be thought so simple, that it would not be condemned as guilty of *malice* ; but to act under such a notion, were a plain confession that all other *titles* are insufficient. Nay, if it be but mingled with any other *pretensions*, the *pestilent quality* of it would poyson all the rest : and, believe it, the dropping of such expressions, by the *unsoberest* of those that call themselves of your party, hath *incredibly discredited* those who are indeed *well-advised*. Away with it then, as that which will bring the *certaineest* and *suddenest destruction* ; as that which will enrage the whole *Nation* to a *furious vindication* of themselves, from being considered as such a *silly generation* of people, that should be consigned out of  
their

their *good, known, and established*  
*Laws* ; and in the place of  
 them, suffer themselves to be  
 imposed upon by *imaginations*  
 and *Dreames*, which every mor-  
 ning must be declared to the  
*foregoing nights legislative power*.  
 The people doe already take  
 themselves to be scornfully  
 mocked, that they must be stig-  
 matiz'd with the *defamation* of  
 so *impious* an act, as a violence  
 offered to the *life* of their *sacred*  
 and *anointed King* ; and that  
 the act of so slight a part of  
 their *Trustees* must redound to  
 their *shame* ; who shunning the  
 light of *established Rules*, which  
 would have guided them, (the  
*paths* they expected they should  
 have walked in) doe in this so  
*palpably* wander from their  
*trust*, and the sense of those who  
 trusted them ; and that so  
 inconsiderable a *part* of them  
 should

should set up a *figment* of fancy to be idolized. Consider the *Commons House* (if yet it may be so called) allow (which cannot be refused) the *Knights* to be the *Representatives* of the *Shires*, which truly is the main of the *people*, you shall not finde *Knights* for the *tenth County* in *England*, I am perswaded not a farre smaller proportion: Is it then possible that men shall believe against *sense* and *evident demonstration*, that the *people* incline to you; nay, that they are not *diametrically* opposite and bent against you? We read that *God*, as an expression of his *gracious favour* to his *Church*, hath promised, that *Kings* and *Queens* shall be *nursing Fathers* and *Mothers* of his *Church*; But that his *Church* should set up new formes or any formes of triall, to execute their owne  
*Kings*

*Kings and Queens, is monstrous and unknown to Religion, is lesse than an idle dream, 'tis the fiction of a dream, and so it will be esteemed not deducible out of the sacred Scriptures; defamatory to the Christian profession, and the nearest way to introduce Paganisme or Mahumetanisme, their Prophet practising such delusions. So that hereby, as Christians, is all Europe engaged, as Protestants, all of our beliefe, either in this or other Nations.*

The last consideration that impedes the mutation of the *Government* is the person of the *King*: which we finde doth unavoidably mixe it self with all the former considerations; so that the *discourse* of the one, will not be without the *aide* of the other. Yet this following hath somewhat more in it. 'Tis *This King, such a King, so*  
con.

*conspicuously vertuous and sufficient*; therefore (it must be acknowledged) that hath a *right apprehension and clear vision* of the true Interest of *Kingship*, which is the *peace and prosperity* of his people; A Prince of *undaunted resolution and clear courage*, therefore not *vindictive*, and farre above *base revengers*. Example me in any one person, of any *vindication*, or *disrespect*, that the *King* can be charged with.

I'll give you many instances of his *placability and readiness* to be reconciled (let me in a short *parenthesis* give you this advertisement; *Revenge* is to be doubted from the *people*, not from the *King*; He alone must be, can be, your security; upon such a Prince you may rely :) A Prince of *exemplary devotion and sobrie-*

I

ty,

ty, therefore dear to all persons so  
 qualified. 'Tis *This King*, during  
 whose happy dayes, (no less than  
 17. years ) in which he quietly  
 posselt and ruled the *Sceptre* ;  
 such an inward *tranquillity* was  
 joyn'd to such a *security* from  
 without, and both accompanied  
 with such an *opulency* , that no  
*period of like* time, with the *like*  
*felicity*, have the former ages de-  
 livered over to us. And it is no  
*impertinent* question to ask ;  
 whether ever any other *Nation*  
 ever enjoyed the like. I am per-  
 swaded (and that upon no ill  
 grounds of conjecture,) were it  
 in the *power* of the *Nation* to e-  
 lect out of the *Catalogue* of all  
 their *Kings*, the Spirit of which  
 of them they would have rest up-  
 on this ; if they wished *Him* the  
 fortune of *Henry the Fifth*, Yet  
 they would not refuse his own

VERTNES,



*vertues*, for the most *signall* of any of the *former*: So notable an impression doth the memory of the peaceable *part* of his *Reigne* make upon the affections of his *people*: And such an *horrou* and *aversion* hath the disquiet thereof wrought in them to any other *form* of *rule*, that they look upon their *tormentours* as *Salamanders*, that only live and are cherished by the *flames*, that have *scorched* them. Is it not now high time then to stop and make a halt? Is there not enough done to satiate the *vanity*, and quench the *thirst* after military *renown*, when you have vanquished your *Compatriots* and fellow *Citizens*, and under such a *Prince*?

Look upon the *brink* of what a dreadful precipice you are; and let this last, and those other considerations be *seriously* re-

volv'd by you : To which being added those weights, which your own judgement can cast into the *scales*, undoubtedly you will see that there is a *wide* distance between making a conquest over a people, (of which their own differences will lay claim to the greatest share, ) and governing them contrary to their own *appetites* by so small a part of themselves ; and that means are *easier* found and *readier* at hand to *desolate* and *disorder* *States*, than such as shall *compose* and *rule* them, various to long ingrafted customs, and their own inclinations. *Invisa Imperia nunquam retinentur diu.* Hated rule is never long-lived. Me thinks you cannot well avoid the observation that the most *perspicacious* and *sagacious* persons of your party, who with a wonder-  
full

full *stedfastness* and *undismayedness* have kept company with you in your *counsels* and *affairs*, and in the greatest hazards (for you have not alwayes been without such,) doe herein, and in this *action*, and in this highest time of your *power* and *prosperity*, not only make a stop, but avowedly withdraw themselves, and declare *against* it; no doubt but very evidently foreseeing the *fatality* of such an *enormous* and *unparallell'd* attempt. But the *imagination* that some have, that this designe will be carryed on by dispatching the *King* out of the way, excluding the *Prince* and *Duke of York* (both now out of the Realme) and setting up the *Duke of Gloucester*, untill the people are better *seasoned* by this *new fashion* of *Government*, is such a *mockery*, that it cannot

be believed, but the most *pur-*  
*blinde understanding* will see all  
 the *shapes* of the *designe*, when  
 it stands but behinde so *slender a*  
*thread*. This will not doe the  
 feat, nor will the *people* of this  
*age* be so deluded: wherein there  
 are but *too many* (for the publick  
 peace,) that understand *Arts*  
 and *policies* of *State*, or, at least,  
 would have it so thought.

Upon the prospect of these  
 foregoing considerations, (and  
 there want not others impor-  
 tant) draw a short state of the  
 whole *affaire*; and it will be  
 thus, or little otherwise. At  
 the present, you of the *Army*  
 stand *high*, but *naked*, *unloved*;  
 the bulk of the *people* that assists  
 you, *small*; they are, to speak  
 of, all in one *cluster*, the *Army*;  
 and that not all *ripe* for such  
*designes*: through the Kingdom  
 they

they are so *thinly disseminated*, that the appearance of them by the eye is scarcely *discernable*; and lastly, to deale frankly with you, (because their temper in your affaire, will make a notable impression, ) for the greater number a *vertiginous* and *giddy* generation, that will never suffer quiet to themselves, you, nor others. The opposites to these, are the most prudent constituted form of Rules the World hath knowne; a vast number of people wedded to it, the matter therefore irreconcilable, no example friendly to you, all Potentates made parties against you; the certaine disunion of Scotland with England; the damage and infamy for the losse of Ireland; the defamation of Christian Religion, more especially of the Protestant Pro-

I. 4.                      fessors,

efforts; and lastly, the person  
 of a most *Excellent Prince*, loved,  
*reverenced*, and *desired* by the  
 generality of his people. Besides  
 all these, and others that are ob-  
 vious to the commonest under-  
 standings; trust me, no mortall  
 man can have a prevision of the  
 future *vexations* which such a  
*Regicide*, such a *Parricide* will  
 bring to the *persons*, *affaires* and  
*designements* of the *Army*; if a  
 prognostick may be made by the  
 rules of *Reason*, by the constant  
*course* of humane actions, by the  
*conjunction* of the *present affaires*  
 of this Kingdome. It is the cer-  
 taine *expectation* of all sober  
 men, that *Jacob* followed not  
*Esau* closer by the heel, than  
 the *Armies destruction* will that  
 of such an *inhumane act* of *vio-*  
*lence* upon the sacred person of  
*the King*. What then, in the  
 name

name of God, is it that hinders you, answerable to *reason*, suitable to *duty*, and agreeable to *piety*, from making hast to joyn your selfe to the *Law*, and to agnize *that Prince*, whom the Lawes and Ordinance of God have set over you? Obey then the *municipall Law* under which you were borne, that hath nourished and cherished you; restore it, promote it all you can; reverence *that Prince*, into whose custody God hath committed both the *Lawes* and *your selfe*: who, I doubt not, will finde it most conveniency to imploy *your self*, and the *best* of your *party*, in the eminentest administrations under Him: And verily I wish it. Nor doe I think it in any degree reprehensible for you, or any other to observe the *Physicians rule*, *Accipe dum do-*

*let; take this opportunity of the present anguish of the King and Kingdome; restore it to its former habit of quiet and peace. There is none that will grudge you such sober commodity, as may arrive to you by it. But with such manner of discourses I will not detaine you, least I should thereby mis-lead you into a false opinion of me. My principles, according to the temper of these times, are very remote from self-safety,; or to imploy ungenerous flatteries for it. Know this assuredly, that I firmly believe, that an established Magistracy is Gods immediate Minister, nor can it be deposed by those that owe obedience and subjection to it, without the highest guilt of impiety; And that this is a verity so plainly held forth to us by the sacred Scriptures,*



*Scriptures, (as an Ordinance*  
*imployed by God, for the ma-*  
*nifestation of his power and*  
*goodnesse in the conservation*  
*of humane communion and so-*  
*ciety,) that the consciencious suf-*  
*ferers for it, may expect a Crown*  
*of Martyrdom by it. That this*  
*Government is a Monarchy, and*  
*his Majesty the right and lawfull*  
*King, hath not a colourable ob-*  
*jection to gainsay it. Read the*  
*Act of Recognition 1 Jac. calm-*  
*ly done by the whole Parl. and*  
*unanimously pursued by the*  
*whole Nation, at a season & op-*  
*portunity that might have en-*  
*couraged pretences, if any could*  
*have been found. How happens*  
*it that the lawfullness of Regall*  
*rule is questioned? Search the*  
*Scriptures: God it is that owns*  
*their Charter; He it is that gave*  
*it them: Per me Reges regnant,*  
*(Prov.*

(Prov. 8. 15.) not *per nos* : 'Tis no *plurality* they hold by. Where *Solomon* speaks in the person of the *eternall Wisdom*, thereby to advertise us of (no doubt) greater *reverence* and *circumspection*. God himself appoints *Moses* the first *Prince* of the politick State of the *Jews* ; after him *Joshua*, &c. Is it the *title* and hereditary *succession* of *Kings* you look for? See then, God himself chuseth *Saul* ; afterwards guides the *lot* ; lastly, follows the *publication* and acknowledgement of the people. Afterward God *rejects* that *Dynasty*, and by especial command fixeth *David* ; whom, by like appointment, *Salomon* succeeds : and from him continued that family in the rule, in the *eldest son* of that Family. Yet is the person so *sacred*, so *delicate*,  
that

that no *violent hand* must come near to approach it. Wherein are the Scriptures more plain and expresse than in this particular, *Touch not mine Anointed? David*, before he was a King, and persecuted by a King, *who can* (saith he) *stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless?* 1.Sam.24.5,6. Multitude of texts there are that both justifie the *dignity*, and enjoin *reverence* to the *person*. And conformably it hath been the avowed *doctrine* and *practise* of the *Church* in all ages, even under *Heathen Princes*. 'Tis an argument too copious for a paper to contain the reasons and instances for it; rather indeed it is too *manifest* to be disputed. Hath not God coupled the *fear* due to *Himself*, with the duty of *reverence* toward the *King*?  
Prov.

Prov. 24. 21. 22. *My Son, Fear thou the Lord and the King (in conjunction :) meddle not with them that are given to change. Mixe not with such machinators: for a like end shall be to the offendours against both, Destruction.*

*Sir, my conclusion shall be very plain, because you may thereby be the better assured of my sincerity in all the rest. The ancient constitutions and present Lawes of this Kingdom are my inheritance and Birth-right: if any shall think to impose upon me that which is worse than death, which is the profane and dastardly parting from these Lawes, I will chuse the lesse evil, which is Death. I have also a right in Kingship, the Protector of those Lawes; This is also, by a necessity and conjunction with*

with that other, *dearer* to me than *life*. And lastly, in *This King* is my present right; and also obligations of *inestimable favours* received from him. I would to God *my life* could be a sacrifice to preserve *his*. Could you make it an expedient to serve *that end*, truly I would pay you more *thanks* for it, than you will allow your self for all your other *merits*, from those you have most obliged, and dye

*Your most affecti-*

*onate Friend.*

*Post-*

## Post-script.

S I R,

**I** Adde this *Post-script*. When with the most unheard of, and highest *violation* of all *Laws* humane and divine, of *Morality* and *Sanctity*, both upon the *person* of the *King* and *municipal Laws* of the *Kingdome* so execrable an *Act* is perpetrated, let the *profit* of it to the *Actors* be summed up; it amounts to nothing more than this, That a *King* is escaped out of their present possession; but the *succeeding King* obliged by all the *tyes* of *Religion*, *Nature*, *Duty*, and *Honour*, encouraged with

with all the irritations of this Nation, Scotland, and Ireland; fortified by the Interests of all Christian Princes and States to animate and aide him, for his revenge upon the *Attours*. I am not guilty of so implacable and inveterate malice, as to wish that the contrivers of this villany might pursue a counsell that shall draw such sharp revenges and infallible destruction upon themselves: But truly I thinke that those, who have been, or are their veriest Friends, and who have any light of understanding or motions of conscience, will never forgive them so outrageous a folly, madnesse, and wickednesse. I must confesse the present proceedings torment me with terrible apprehensions: but truly I cannot make my selfe believe, that God will permit the

(66)

the Devil to draw *Christian*  
*Protestant Professours* unto the  
consummation of so detestable  
and *impious* a Fact. God of his  
infinite mercy prevent it.

---

*Enclosed in a Letter, thus.*

S I R,

**T**His *short* Letter hath no o-  
ther errand, but to excuse  
that longer, which is inclosed.  
I pray read it over, though it  
comes from a person that is  
not proper to apply himselfe to  
you; and using an instrument  
(a penne) not suitable to my  
Genius.



(67)

*Genius.* But believe it, 'tis the  
extremity of this present occasion  
extorts it from me. God guide  
you, and recall you, if you are en-  
gaged in this horrid proceeding,  
I rest,

Tower, Jan. 15.  
1648.

S I R,

Your humble Servant.

---

A

*A Letter written to his  
Lady the day before his  
Suffering.*

*My dearest Life,*

**M**Y greatest care in relation to the *World* is for thy dear self: But I beseech thee, that as thou hast never refused my advice hitherto, doe thou now consummate all in this one. And indeed it is so important both for *Thee, Me*, and all our *Children*, that I presume passion shall not over-rule thy reason, nor my request. I beseech Thee again and again, moderate thy apprehension and sorrowes for me; and preserve thy selfe to the benefit of our dear Children,

dren, whom God, out of his love to us in *Christ Jesus*, hath given us: And our dear *Mall* (in the case she is in,) and our comforts in that *Family* depend entirely upon *thy* preservation. I pray remember that the occasion of my *Death* will give Thee more cause to celebrate my *memory* with *praise*, rather than to consider it with *sadness*. God hath commanded my *obedience* to the *fifth commandment*; and for acting that *duty* I am *condemned*. God multiply all *comforts* to thee. I shall leave Thee my *dear Children*: In them I *live* with Thee; and leave Thee to the *protection* of a most gracious God. And I rest

*Thy, &c.*

*Another*

*Another written the same day  
He Suffered.*

*My dearest Life,*

**M***Y eternall life is in Christ  
Jesus, My worldly con-  
siderations in the highest degree  
Thou hast deserved. Let me live  
long here in thy dear memory,  
to the comfort of my Family,  
our dear Children, whom God  
out of mercy in Christ hath be-  
stowed upon us. I beseech Thee,  
take care of thy health. Sorrow  
not unsoberly, unusually. God  
be unto Thee better than an  
Husband; and to my Children  
better than a Father. I am sure,  
He is able to be so, I am confi-  
dent He is graciously pleased  
to be so. God be with Thee,  
my*

my most *virtuous Wife* ; God multiply many *comforts* to *Thee* and my *Children*, is the fervent prayer of

*Thy, &c.*

---

## *A Letter to Mr.E.S.*

*from a reverend and  
grave Divine.*

*S I R,*

**I** Hope this paper will finde you upon your *recovery*. You have my daily and hearty *prayers* for it ; not so much for your *own sake* (for I doubt not but it would be much better for you, in regard of your *self*, to be *dissolved*

*dissolved and be with Christ)* but in the behalf of the Church, your friends, and poor Family: to which notwithstanding be assured, God will be mercifull, howsoever he disposeth of you, either for *this life*, or for a *better*. But if you live (as I pray and hope you will) you shall doe very well to write the life and death of that Noble Lord and Blessed Martyr, who professed at his death, *that he dyed for the fifth Commandment*: and to dye in the defence, and for the testimony of any *Divine truth*, is truly and properly to be a *Martyr*.

That which I can contribute towards this work is, to communicate some few observations I made of him and from him, before and after his *Condemnation*. I was severall times with him,

him, and alwayes found him in a very chearfull and well-composed temper of mind; proceeding from true Christian grounds, and not from a Roman resolution only (as his enemies are pleased to speak of him.) He told me often, It was the good God he served, and the good Cause he had served for, that made him not to fear death: adding, he had never had the temptation of so much as a thought, to check him for his engagement in this quarrell: for he took it for his Crown and Glory; and wished he had a greater ability, and better fortune to engage in it.

After his Condemnation. and the afternoon before his suffering, we were a great while in private together; when, bewailing with that sense which be-

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came

came a true (and not despairing)  
 penitent, the sins of his life past,  
 the greatest he could remember  
 was his voting my Lord of Strafs-  
 ford's death: which though (as  
 he said) he did without any  
 malice at all, yet he confessed  
 it to be a very great Sin; and  
 that he had done it out of a  
 base fear (they were his own  
 words) of a prevailing party:  
 adding, that he had very often  
 and very heartily repented of it,  
 and was confident of Gods  
 Pardon for it. Then he told  
 me, he had a great desire to  
 receive the Blessed Sacrament  
 (so he called it) before he dy-  
 ed the next morning: asking  
 what Divine of the Kings par-  
 ty I would recommend to him.  
 I replied, that (though many  
 were more worthy, yet) none  
 would be more willing to doe  
 him



him that service than *my self*. Which he accepting very kindly, told me he durst not *desire* it, for fear it might be some *danger* to *me*. After this, and some conference in order to his *preparation*, both for his *viaticum* and his *voyage*, the *Sacrament* and his *death*; he desired me to *pray* with him. Which after I had performed, and promised to be with him by seven the next morning, I left him for that time to his *own devotions*.

The next day I was there at the time assigned: and after some short conference in order to the present occasion, he desired me to hear *him pray*: which he did for half an hour in an *excellent method*, very *apt expressions*, and most *strong, hearty*, and *passionate affections*: First: *confessing* and *bemoaning*

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his *sins* with strong Cryes and Tears; then humbly and most earnestly *desiring* Gods *Mercy* through the *merits* of *Christ* only. Secondly, for his dear *Wife* and *Children*, with some *passion*; but for her *especially*, with most *ardent* affections: recommending them to the *Divine* providence with great confidence and assurance; and desiring for them rather the blessings of a *better* life, than of *this*. Thirdly, for the *King*, *Church*, and *State*; and lastly, for his *enemies*, with almost the same ardour and affection. After this sending for my Lord of *Normich* and Sr. *John Owen*, I read the whole *Office* of the *Church* for *good Friday*: and then, after a short *Homily* I used for the present occasion, we received the *Sacrament*. In which

which action he behaved himselfe with great *humility*, *zeal*, and *devotion*. And being demanded after we had done, how he found himselfe; he replied, very much *better*, *stronger*, and *cheerfuller* for that *Heavenly repast*; and that he doubted not to walke like a *Christian* through the *vale of death*, in the strength of it. But he was to have an *agony* before his *passion*, and that was the parting with his *Wife*, *eldest Son*, *Son in Law*, two of his *Uncles*, and *Sir T: C:* especially the parting with his most *dear Lady*; which indeed was the *saddest Spectacle* that ever I beheld. In which occasion he could not chuse but confesse a little of *humane frailty*; yet even then he did not forget both to *Comfort* and *Connsell* her, and the

rest of his friends, particularly, in blessing the *young Lord*, he commanded him never to *revenge* his death, though it should be in his power: the like he said unto his *Lady*. He told his *Son* he would leave him a *Legacy* out of *Dauids Psalmes*, and that was this, *Lord, lead me in a plain path*. For, Boy, (said he) I would have you a *plain honest man*, and hate *disimulation*.

After this, with much adoe I perswaded his *Wife*, and the rest to be gone; and then being all alone with me, he said, *Doctor*, the *hardest* part of my worke in *this world*; is now past, meaning the *parting* with his *Wife*. Then he desired me to pray *preparatively* to his *death*, that in the last action he might so behave himselfe as might be most for  
Gods

Gods Glory, for the endearing  
 of his *Dead Masters memory*,  
 his *present Masters service*; and  
 that he might avoid the *doing*  
 or *saying* of any thing, which  
 might favour either of *vanity*,  
 or *sullenesse*. This being done,  
 they were all carried to Sir *Robert Cotton's House*; where I  
 was with him, till he was called  
 unto the *Scaffold*, and would  
 have gone up with him, but  
 the Guard of *Souldiers* would  
 not suffer me.

Psalm.

**Psal. 116. 15.**

*Precious in the sight of the  
Lord, is the death of his  
Saints.*

**Psal. 112. 6, 7.**

*The righteous shall be in e-  
verlasting remembrance: He  
shall not be afraid of any evil  
tidings; His heart is fixed,  
trusting in the Lord.*

**Luke 6. 23.**

*Rejoyce ye in that day, and leap  
for joy; for behold your re-  
ward is great in Heaven, for  
in the like manner, did their  
Fathers to the Prophets.*

**Rev.**

## Revel. 6. 9, 10, 11.

I saw under the Altar the  
 soules of them that were slaine  
 for the word of God, and for  
 the Testimony, which they  
 held. And they cryed with a  
 loud voice, saying, How long,  
 O Lord, Holy and True, dost  
 thou not avenge our blood on  
 them that dwell on the earth?  
 And white robes were given  
 unto every one of them, and  
 it was said unto them, that  
 they should rest yet for a little  
 season, untill their fellow-Ser-  
 vants also, and their Bre-  
 thren, that should be killed as  
 they were, should be fulfilled.

Revel.

## Revel. 12. 11.

*They overcame Him by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their Testimony, and they loved not their lives unto the death.*

## Rev. 14. 13.

*I heard a voice from Heaven, saying unto me, write blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord, from henceforth, yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works doe follow them.*

**FINIS.**



